1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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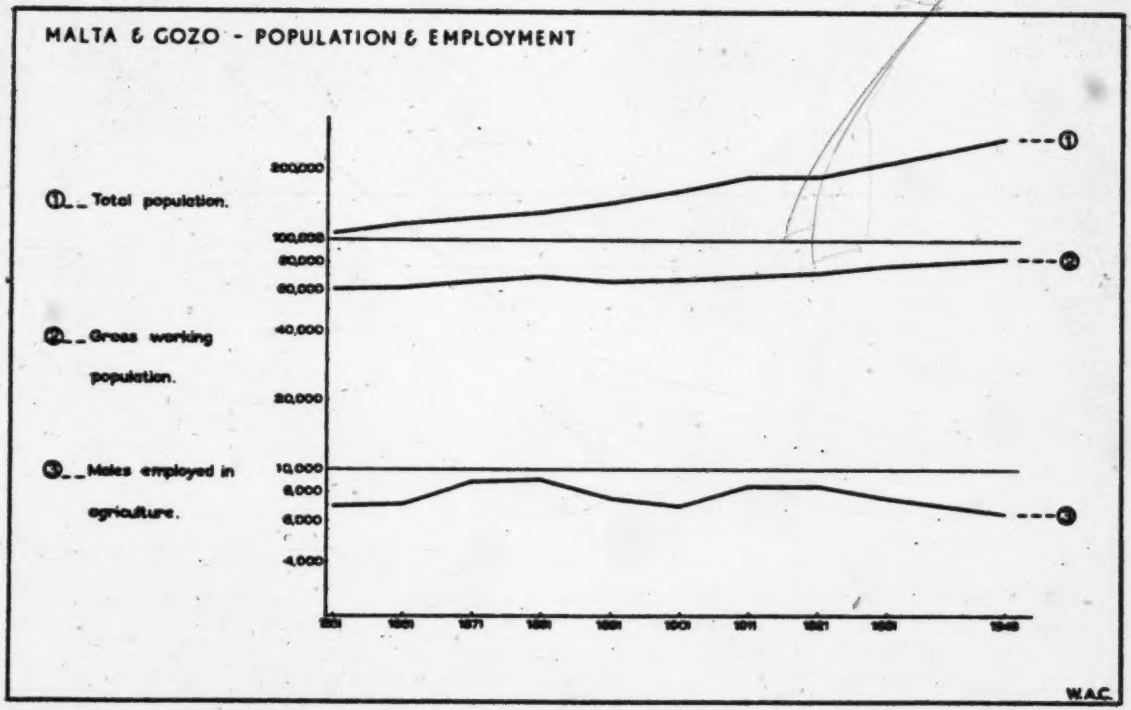

[p. 118-B]

* 175
161
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Fig. 31 Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*195 43 revenue deficits. In 1878 a report by Rowsell on the fiscal situation in Malta is particularly indicative of buoyant conditions, but also indicated the smallness of revenue reserves (14).

The superficially favourable Internal Revenue situation and the fall in unemployment and migration, particularly after 1870, were however paralleled by a growing unbalance in the National Product. Once again there occurred a fortuitous coincidence of favourable external circumstances. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and fleets of small steamships plying the new route to the Indian Ocean needed frequent bunkering. The Mediterranean littoral itself became the scene of increased economic activity. The same industrial surge in northern Europe, and in Britain in particular, which built the ships and the Canal, needed foodstuffs and raw materials and provided the capital and equipment for their production. Not only from the Mediterranean littoral, Australia and the Orient, but also from the Russian and Danubian Black Sea ports came the ships which converged on the Malta Straits. Many regions suffered from the downward movement of commodity prices which occurred after 1873. Malta was little affected by commodity price-changes in that her commercial activity was strictly concerned with services, and the Islands reaped the benefit of increased volume of traffic. By 1882, 80 per cent. of the recorded tonnage using the harbours dealt with extra-Mediterranean traffic. The same year witnessed the nineteenth century peak of British steel exports, the Black Sea grain trade was still building up and bunkering business in Malta reached its height. During the 1880's Britain was in virtual control of maritime affairs and the complicated pattern of a relevant part of tramp movement may be summarised thus (15):-

> '... steamers go a round voyage, part of which is in ballast, taking coal, say, to the Mediterranean and then grain from the Black Sea to Hamburg and home... The course of the export trade in coal is influenced in some degree by the return freight... modified by favourable harvests or otherwise in different parts of the world, and the consequent varying sources of our food supplies'.

*195 43 505 In this statement may be found an explanation both of the reason for Malta's Golden Era between 1870 and 1890 and for its impermanence. Before 1890 events conspired to produce commercial opportunity. After 1890 Europe turned more and more to the New World for grain and the volume of Black Sea trade slowly declined. Those ships still in the trade together with those using the through Mediterranean routes grew larger and more power-efficient and therefore less in need of frequent bunkering stops. Competition from other ports increased as the Mediterranean political pattern became simplified by effective French control of much of North Africa, by the enforcement of stability on Egypt and by Italian unification. The sheer momentum of nineteenth century economic progress carried centres such as Algiers, Naples, Alexandria and Barcelona, all with developing hinterlands and facilities, out of the class of ports pure and simple. By 1895 shipping activity in Malta had dropped back to the level of 1880 and thenceforward it developed at a slower rate than did world trade as a whole. The Maltese were once more sharply reminded that the possession of a good natural harbour was not enough in itself permanently to attract commercial interest.

Since detailed statistics of trade, other than that in dutiable goods, were not recorded before 1910 it is difficult to measure directly the real significance of port activity and trade either during the boom or in more normal conditions. The Blue Books are of some analytical aid, and that for 1891 suggests that the total value of what are termed re-exports was £35,000,000 of which only 3 per cent. by value were actually landed in Malta, the remainder proceeding to their ultimate destinations in the same bottoms. For further information we must turn to an analysis of the other elements in the National Product.

*195 43 The most useful records at our disposal are the Census recordings of occupations although even here there are considerable deficiencies. The gross working population (unemployment figures are not available before 1921) shows trends which conform to those of net population increase (Fig. 31) but particularly noteworthy is the numerical loss due to a decline in the female working

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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group. From 1851, when it composed 45 per cent. of the total, this element steadily decreased, absolutely and relatively. This general trend resulted from normal sociological changes consequent on a maturing of the whole economy and from the growing dominance of male employing service industries. At the same time, the preponderantly feminine cotton industry was steadily declining (see pp. 123 and 124).

One of the most significant indicators of economic change is that of male employment in agriculture (Fig. 31). During the first century of British rule, agriculture played no part in the economic expansion which was in train. Agricultural prosperity became a function of general prosperity and therefore to a large extent mirrored external fortune. Employment in the industry on the other hand, except for the shortlived cotton growing boom of the 1860's during the American Civil War, varied inversely with general economic activity. In Malta, as in most countries, it would be true to say that rising profits in farming benefited existing producers but failed to attract net incomers. On the other hand, population growth, the cessation of employment elsewhere, obstacles to emigration or even forces producing a return of migrants all periodically forced some workers back on to the land. Thus in the years between 1851 and 1871 while the population was growing more quickly than the slow but accelerating commercial activity, sheer population pressure and migration trends (16) forced the level of male agricultural employment from c. 7,000 to c. 9,000. During the Golden Years and the subsequent period of large-scale dockyard and public works construction numbers fell once more to c. 7,000 in 1901. Later stagnation in commerce and a decline in constructional work culminating in a severe depression (necessitating a Royal Commission) were marked by an increase in the number of farmworkers to 8,500 in 1911. These general fluctuations can be corroborated by reference to farm family histories and by changes in the availability of land. Behind the overall absence of numerical change and of those of secular variations we may discern some of the fundamental features of Maltese agriculture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the better land had already been occupied by as many farmworkers as contemporary productivity could properly support. This number remained more or less constant, first because the economic and social climate was not propitious to the labour saving innovations which were sweeping over Europe, and secondly because the intake of land from waste did little more than compensate for losses elsewhere. We have a picture of a technically static, status declining and credit starved industry which from time to time lost some of its most vigorous and enterprising young workers or gained a flood of generally poor and semi-skilled labourers.

More true of Malta than of Gozo, this picture must be modified to accommodate regional differences and changes. Already in the eighteenth century, as we have noted, a cleavage existed in Malta between the *urbs* around Valletta, the Old City of Mdina-Rabat, and the rural communities. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this had developed into an embryonic form of the present division into urban, suburban and rural communities (Fig. 36). The social and demographic reasons for and implications of this are considered elsewhere (Chapter VI A) but the internal economic factors need present consideration.

Before the building of the railway in 1881, the tramways in 1905, and the later motorable roads, communication between villages and between country and town was relatively limited. Within those areas physically closest to what had now become the Grand Harbour the attraction/repulsion effects on agricultural employment were most strongly felt. On the eastern urban fringe, in the Żabbar area, these fluctuations were very violent and indicative of too complete reliance on two simple forms of economic activity, dockyard work and farming. On the western fringe the expanding economic and political functions of the nuclear *urbs* overwhelmed old villages such as Birkirkara and created new townships such as that of Hamrun in a more complex urbanisation (Figs. 33 and 39). Fluctuations in agricultural employment still occurred but these were less important than the steady decline in the total.

The changes outlined above proceeded slowly but at an accelerating rate during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. By 1871 popula-

[Text Continues on p. 123]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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tion increase had overtaken economic growth, and in particular had forced an expansion of the cultivated area. As still evidenced in the landscape the farming frontier moved into the more difficult lands of the north-western uplands and on Mellieha Ridge and intensified effort on the floodable lands of Wied il-Ghasel. The *Società Economico-Agraria* in a series of reports and in the *Gazzetta Agraria Melitese* expended much effort during this time in studying the possibility of reclaiming land hitherto uncultivated (17).

From 1871 onward non-agricultural employment became absolutely dominant. The significance of this change lies in the fact that indigenously rooted manufacturing, viz. cotton working, died completely and the largest sector of National Production became entirely dependent on external wealth. A closer examination of one of the crucial periods, the decade 1871-81, illustrates the regional changes which were taking place. The male working population increased suddenly from 40,698 to 46,116. The greatest rate of increase occurred in the urban area where the number of male workers rose by 17 per cent. while the population increased only by 9 per cent. The suburban trend was intermediate between this and the rural situation where the employment rate rose by only 8 per cent. - less than 800 men. The greatest suburban rise occurred mainly in the following decade. Functionally the largest increase occurred in the group of Porters, Carriers and Coalheavers - 100 per cent., while the commercial group increased by 27 per cent. and the numbers in the building trade actually declined slightly. During this decade and most of the next the greater part of economic growth resulted from increased port activity. At one end of the social scale there would seem to have been an actual migration of nobility and gentry from the 'unfashionable' old centres into Valletta, while in the capital the number of 'gentry' increased rapidly with each census as successful *nouveaux riches* acquired estates and a higher status. Bankers, merchants and dealers increased by 8 per cent., and in ever descending and widening social circles, shopkeepers by 11 per cent. and petty vendors by 25 per cent. The Transport group, an advanced stage to that of Porters, increased in number even more astonishingly, by 139 per cent. in Malta as a whole and by 318 per cent. in the rural areas.

As Table 23 indicates, the economic revolution was becoming more complex and the sphere of influence of Valletta and the port became more extensive.

Table 23. Percentage change in the male working population.

Location	1861-71	1871-81	1881-91
Urban	+8	+17	-4
Suburban	+0.7	+12	+5
Rural	+9	+8	+1

By 1891 the port boom was over but Government expenditure and Imperial military spending continued to rise. Commerce came more to mean retail trade and dockyard work more associated with bunkering and naval servicing. Coal-heaving, civil and military, engaged 2,075 men by 1891. By 1905 over 9,000 men were employed by the Naval Establishments, half of these on constructional work. On the other hand, the build up of the garrison, naval and military ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that 'the reduction of the garrison must mean a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year'.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century there was finally established in Malta the complex economic pattern which still fundamentally underlies life in the Islands. The greater integration of economic life, a high level of urban and dockyard activity and the improvement of internal communications resulted not in continued movement into the *urbs* but in the growth of the suburbs and the strengthening of the non-agricultural element in the rural areas. Thus of the coalheavers of 1891, 80 per cent. lived outside the port complex and 44 per cent. in the outer ring of casals Qormi, Luqa and Zejtun. The labour

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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catchment area of the port was extended to include most of the east and centre of the island.

The decline in indigenously rooted economic activity is typified by the fortunes of the cotton industry, which after two millennia of regional fame finally succumbed to the stresses of the new world into which Malta had been introduced. Statistical information is limited to brief mention of employment in the industry in the Census Reports of 1851 and later. General material, often untrustworthy, may be gleaned from travellers reports. Field work (18) carried out during the last four years has given us the evidence of the few surviving cotton workers who can recall the character of the industry as it was in its moribund latter days.

In 1861 there still remained almost 9,000 workers occupationally described as spinners and weavers and some 200 beaters and dyers. Ninety-six per cent. of the total were women, and male labour was generally used only in the final stages of cloth preparation. The industry included all processes from the growing of indigenous short staple annual cottons to the manufacture of cloth. The actual operations however were carried out almost entirely by individual workers in their own homes and were linked only by merchants specialising in this trade. In many cases merchants advanced seed to the farmers on a crop-sharing basis. In all cases they bought the picked lint and then distributed quantities by weight to 'out-work' spinners. These would return the yarn, which had been prepared by primitive traditional teasers and spinning wheels, and were paid by weight and fineness of the yarn. The village merchant would store the yarn until he received an order for cloth and would then make similar contracts with domestic weavers.

That this type of 'out-work', domestic industry survived late into the nineteenth century is a commentary on the social and economic needs of the poorer village and rural classes. Much of the female labour described as occupied in cotton-working was often only seasonally thus employed. The 1861 census taken in the autumn in contrast to the usual spring period clearly illustrates the seasonal change of work between spring harvesting and tillage in the fields, and the home use of the spinning wheel after the autumnal harvest. Tariffs and quotas on trade in lint and yarn were deliberately employed to protect in the domestic market this last employment reserve of the 'lower classes'.

Finally however tradition and protection proved powerless to prevent change. In the harbour area the decline was rapid after 1851, alternative employment and the impact of trade virtually killing the indigenous cotton industry by 1901. Away from the conurbation the same factors operated more slowly but still inexorably. Żebbuġ and Rabat, centres of old Malta, were the last to succumb. The former, a great centre of mercantile and ecclesiastical wealth derived from cotton, remained relatively important for weaving until 1914. In Rabat, the suburb of the old capital, a craft industry still survives. With the coming of new opportunities for wealth gaining, not in trade but in mass employment in the dockyards and towns, the last *raison d'être* of the cotton industry disappeared. It survived longest in the cotton growing regions of the west and in the most Maltese of the old villages of the Centre and South. With its disappearance died the last considerable skilled employment of traditional resource wealth.

Changes such as these characterised the Maltese economy during the nineteenth century. World War I marked the end of an epoch during which the evaluation placed on Malta by Britain was sometimes questioned but never invalidated. The Maltese economy as it existed in the opening years of the twentieth century had reached the logical culmination of a specialised development which had been under way for centuries.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. Economy and Trade

In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 ... 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'.

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,259 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate help to the Islands in their present effort 'to find alternative sources of employment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification, while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate, Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity. The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel. Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased. The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 millions.

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in 'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction. In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction, Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees, most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil 'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled, particularly in the building industry (18).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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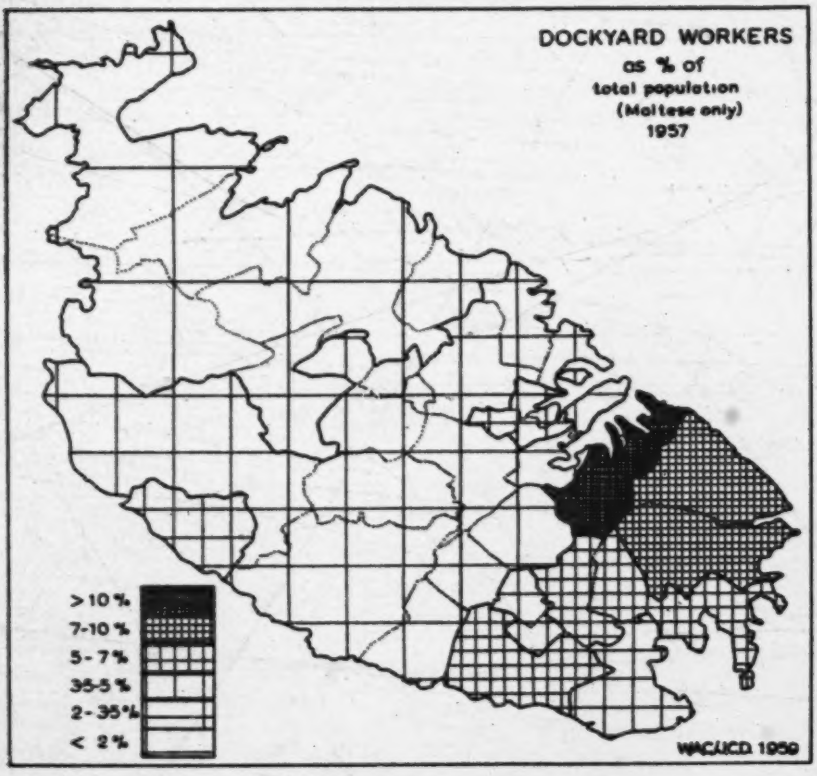

Fig. 64 Dockyard Workers as % age of Total Population.

[p. 172-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of con-
504 centration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
[361] century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much
smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement
which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third
of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has
very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but
25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard
most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per
cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, com-
mencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from
the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
[994] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show
part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses,
in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from
a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and
north-eastwards to St. Julians.

185 Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current
504 economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As
a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard
was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

1: Bowen-Jones et.al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Chapter IX

A. The Maltese Farmholding

For our purposes here we shall define a 'farmer' as 'the owner or holder of land which he cultivates', but will add the limiting clause, 'as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise'. There may be joint owners or holders but normally, even where a *'communio inter fratres'* has been established on the death of a parent landholder, one person will assume responsibility for the control of the enterprise. He is the farmer. His brothers, sisters, wife and children, if they assist in working the land, together with the non-family labour which he may employ are the farmworkers. The inter-relationships of family and work can, however, be much more complex than this simplification may imply.

The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers we shall term the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners, and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold, as well as various types of leasehold land. Within each holding there exists a loosely-knit collection of plots, which, through accident or design, have come to be in the occupation of one individual or group. Because of the geographical isolation of the plots, most of the holdings might, descriptively, be termed 'fragmented holdings'. Such holdings need not necessarily have acquired this characteristic through the process of *parcellement*; that is by splitting up of a holding into a number of non-contiguous plots. No generic connotation, therefore, should be attached to the purely descriptive use of the term 'fragmented'. In the following examination of the Maltese farm, this distinction between descriptive statements and analyses of processes will be maintained.

The physical size of a farm may be considered as the total area of land over which the farmer exercises sole rights of occupation for agricultural purposes. Fortunately, in the Maltese Islands, the matter is not complicated by problems of definition concerned with common land, as communal holding of land is effectively absent. But other problems do arise, since land is so variable in quality, ranging from fertile irrigated lands to soil-less karst, with many gradations in between. Most farms include land of more than one category and, especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard-rock areas of Gozo, many farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivator's point of view is useless.

The average size of farms has proved an elusive statistic for many writers. A figure of 3.7 acres was given to the Royal Commission of 1911-12. From 1921-36 the Blue Books continued to advertise the patent fallacy that only 236 holdings were in the 0-10 acre size range and that 10,864 holdings contained from 11-50 acres of land. However, in this context any average figure is very largely meaningless except for purely comparative purposes. The range is enormous; holdings less than 1 *tomna* are not considered as farms, but there are many holdings only slightly larger than this, while at the other end of the scale, farms of 200 *tmien* are not unknown.

Much of the record concerning farm sizes is incomplete and, although the present response rate of over 97 per cent. to the annual Agricultural Census conducted by the Central Office of Statistics is excellent under the conditions prevailing in the Maltese Islands, it seems probable that earlier returns lagged far behind in this respect. Of the various sources, the Farm Register is probably the most accurate. It began with a Census in 1943 and was checked against another in 1944; for several years its details were consolidated by field survey.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Table 34. Number of farm holdings.

	Malta	Gozo	Malta and Gozo
1891	6,307	2,965	9,272
1901	6,106	3,072	9,178
1950	9,600	4,000	13,600
1952	9,440	3,815	13,255
1955	9,011	3,674	12,690
1958	8,774	3,441	12,215

The fluctuations during the post-war period are not considered to be significant, since the 1950 figure was an estimate, and something like 750 farmers are known not to have co-operated in 1955.

Some further indication of the long-term increase in the number of holdings is given by the Census statistics of Agricultural Occupations for the years 1842-1931. In those years, persons working on the land were grouped in the following categories:-

Table 35.

	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891 1901 1911 1921 1931
A	Farmer do. (Proprietor)			C Farmer	Peasant Proprietor	Farmer, cultivator of land
B	Farmer do. (Tenant)					
D	Labourer in the field				E	Farmer's relative assisting
					F	Agricultural Labourer

It would appear from the context in which they are used that the classes A and B of the earlier years were intended to comprise the same groups as class C, of 1871 onward; also that these represent the number of cultivators working land on their own account who have no other major occupation.

Class D was subdivided in 1891 and later years to take special account of those farm-workers who were close relatives of the land-holder. There is no close equivalent in the post-war material for this group, for the 1948 Census takes no heed of the family relationships, while the Departmental enquiries make inadequate reference to the admittedly small group of farm-workers who are not members of landholders' families.

If the classes A, B, C and D, E, F can be presumed to be comparable for the whole of the period, even to a wide degree of approximation, then a general upward trend in the numbers of landholders, balancing a downward trend in the number of farm-workers, is apparent (Table 36).

Short-term variations in these trends result, at least in part, from misclassification of persons as between the two groups, but of greater significance were the succeeding slump and boom conditions in Maltese agriculture, which in turn are to be related to contemporary, but opposite, fluctuations in the general economy of the Islands (Chapter V A). A fall in the number of full-time farmholders need not imply an absolute recession from the land, but rather that numbers of farmers are taking alternative employment, which, for a period, becomes their principal occupation. In the meantime the land is being worked on a part-time basis, or by the men's wives and families.

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Table 36. Agricultural occupations - male and female.

Farmholders, farm-workers, and total workers on land (excluding sheep and goat herders).

		1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders	%	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers	%	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	78.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers on land	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	000's	12.2	13.4	10.8	15.4	15.3	15.3	13.8	15.1	16.2	13.6

The general increase in the numbers of farmholders could have arisen entirely within the class itself, by the repeated re-allocation of land to succeeding and larger generations. Similarly the full decline in the numbers of farmworkers may be related to increased alternative employment or to emigration. However, case-study material seems to indicate that many families whose members had traditionally been landless labourers, working in fields, quarries or industry, as wages rose and fell began to acquire a direct interest in the land, thereby moving from one class to another without affecting the total agricultural labour force. Such a family history is examined in detail later in this chapter.

Another factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming. In this sector data is particularly limited and of dubious value. Table 37 consolidates all the relevant material.

Table 37.

	1891	1901		1936
'Farmers'	5,727	5,038	Full-time farmholders	4,706
'Part-time Farmers'	2,263	500	Part-time farmholders	5,337
			Other farmholders	1,368
Total	7,990	5,538	Total	11,411
Number of holdings	9,272	9,178	Number of holders	12,640

The discrepancies in the earlier two years between the numbers of farmholders and of farmholdings arise from the differing bases of the material, and because the number of holdings includes returns by the 'owners of fruit gardens and field labourers with very small amounts of land'. Similar explanations apply in 1936. These doubts notwithstanding, it is quite clear that a major part of the increase in holdings is made up of holdings farmed on a part-time basis; the number of farmholders principally dependent on agriculture having declined meanwhile.

423*
311

Earlier in this chapter, the point was made that most farms contain land of various types. Apart from virtually non-productive waste land, the main distinction is between dry land and irrigated land. The distinction is not always very clearly set between the two groups, since land can also be considered as 'semi-irrigated', as in the Farm Register. However, this type of land, watered from rain-filled cisterns perhaps twice or three times per season, cannot compare in output with the perennially irrigable land. The crops on this latter type of land will be watered at ten-day intervals for a period of six or more months. Semi-irrigated land is grouped by the farmers themselves with dry land as *raba bagħli*, while perennially irrigated land they refer to as *raba saqwi*. So long as data is based on the agriculturalist's own criteria there seems little danger of confusion.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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241 433 435 development and straining even the existing pattern. In the first place, physical environment so dominates the mind of the Maltese farmer that he categorically asserts the virtues and deficiencies of various regions and does not realise that with the techniques and crop-strains at his disposal he now can negate some of these differentiations. Thus the case-study quoted on p. 329 is atypical rather than normal. The result is that in these Islands, which have a long thermal growing season, there are very marked seasonal fluctuations in production. With cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and some other vegetables the produce suddenly appears on the markets, prices soar through the fixed ceilings and then as suddenly slump with glut. For the rest of the year - January to September in the case of cauliflowers, and for all except June to September with tomatoes - good quality produce is not available. Prices to the producer range from very high to zero and such fluctuations, superimposed on those caused by climatic variations, both strain the farming economy and encourage poor production. Thus some winter grown Arran Banner sold for up to 50s. per *qantar* in 1956 but only 8s. 4d. in 1958; in January 1957, unsold cauliflowers could be bought from *pitkali* for fodder at 1s. a sack, while a year later they fetched almost 1s. a *wiżna* (8½ lb. av.).

241 464 465 Secondly, the concentration in time of the various harvests causes severe fluctuations in the demand for labour. All farmers interviewed regard hired labour as poor in quality and expensive. This is a frequent grumble in many countries but in the Maltese context there are some special implications. The number of agricultural labourers, which declined in the nineteenth century as pressure on land resources diminished holding size and encouraged cultivation by occupiers, further declined as urban employment opportunities increased. That pool which is left to some extent sets its standards of wage demand by urban levels, but more important still is only urgently required at two seasons of the year. During the first of these, March to middle May, it is needed for the harvesting of cereals, sulla, potatoes and other winter crops and for the first of the summer cultivations. The second period, about September, coincides with the grape harvest which lasts but three weeks, and with autumn tillage. The result is to elevate day-wage rates to the point of discouragement for the farmer and to lower seasonal earnings so as to repel possible labourer recruits. Merchants, vintners, fodder and food consumers and producers all suffer, and suffer needlessly when one realises the climatic possibilities for extending production.

241 433 To sum up, one may say that the farmer, although largely producing for the market, is generally unable to cost his efforts, deal on equal terms with traders, or appreciate the needs of the market domestic or foreign. This inability must be corrected because the farmer and his land are potentially capable of supplying more of the Islands' agricultural needs than they do at present, and of making a considerable positive contribution to the balance of trade which at the moment they help to distort.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

178 but there has been a delegation of his traditional secondary functions. The spread of Government primary education, for example, has produced a literate younger generation able to write - and think - for itself; rediffusion, cinemas, and television have made their presence felt; the Maltese-language press has grown in volume and scope; letters and visits from emigrated Maltese widen horizons rapidly; cheap bus transport puts most of the Malta within easy reach; health and social services have brought improvements; C.A.R.E. (2) and other relief supplies have brought a new external influence; the changing pattern of work with the new limited working day is giving the time for the novel activities made possible by cultural and material advancement. The last 50 years have seen the appearance and spread of the lay religious movements (see Chapter VI C) which have attempted to relieve the Priest of some of the work with which he had previously been able to contend unaided. The Society of Christian Doctrine [575] (M.U.S.E.U.M.), founded in 1909, was the first of these but larger and more comprehensive is Catholic Action whose four groups for men, women, young men, and young women have been established throughout the Islands to provide the modern Maltese parallel to the Village Institute, Youth Club and Church Fellowship of other countries.

178 The rural family was traditionally the economic unit within the village. A century ago, farming in Malta implied the self-sufficiency of the true subsistence 241 peasant rather than the crop- and milk-selling producer of today. The food for the family came very largely from the fields worked by its members, milk from 654 their own goats or sheep and clothing from home-produced cotton and wool.

Money and matters financial now occupy a major part of the thoughts of the Maltese farmer - even of the older generation, illiterate and cut off from more cultural developments. Barter as a means of exchange is breathing its last. Perhaps more than anything else did the 1939-45 war mark the change. During the years of siege and shortage the farmer was able to get prices for produce out of all proportion to anything before or since. With the return of conditions to normal after the war this Golden Age of Maltese farming collapsed but the farmer went on somehow expecting to make the same profits in peace as he had in war. The fact that he has not been able to do this, even with recent Government protective farming programmes of subsidies, guaranteed prices and other artificial inducements, has increased the bitterness which the farmer has come to feel for his lot. For its part, the Government has tried to keep the farming community as contented as possible and at the same time has embarked on attempts at dairy and general farming reforms of methods, varieties, marketing, etc., in an attempt to stop the retreat from the land and from the way of life based on it. The produce of the soil is, after all, Malta's only major locally-based industry. This has seemed to prove to the farmer that *'Gvern'* ought to do all that it has done for the farmer, and a lot more. The Government's recent policy has been to educate the farmer to accept the new ideas and novel methods and techniques and it has attempted to do this through lectures to farmers, programmes on rediffusion, and pamphlets - along with the inducements of subsidies and guarantees. But the limited success of this programme has emphasised the basic problem in farming today which is that the 'Farmer' is now the middle-aged or old man, whose lack of education and experience outside the community of his village makes it most unlikely that he will accept information and advice from those who are patently not *Maltese* farmers and lack the lifetime's association with the alleged idiosyncracies of the Maltese environment.

178 The younger generation, which has benefited from a thorough primary schooling, might have been the individuals to listen to lectures on farming but, 464 and here is the basic problem, as a group the sons and daughters of farmers 24 are desperate to leave the land and even more concerned to rid themselves of 56 what they see as the social inferiority attached to the calling of their fathers. These young people have in fact been educated to an awareness of new possibilities of economic and social life outside farming and also outside the village community which bred them. So many of the younger generation have in fact managed to make the break with the way of life of their fathers that the average age of the Maltese farmer is now higher than only a few years ago, and is still rising (see Section III Introduction).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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369 formed a facade behind which has hidden an old slow-changing and parochial Malta.

The towns are Italianate in character, the farm buildings archaically indigenous; the city dwellers speak a Maltese liberally sprinkled with European loanwords, the countryfolk's language is more strongly semitic. The urban place [103] names are usually historical or religious in character - Valletta, Kingsway or Strada Reale, Triq San Pietru; in the country one finds the older elements - Żebbuġ, place of the olive, Hamrija - red soil, Kalanka - hard stone. The Three Cities themselves have two sets of names - Kospikwa, Senglea, Vittoriosa for the Knights and their successors, Bormla, Isla and Birgu for the people. Architecture, language, place names, consumption patterns, even temperament still divide the two sections of the community. The farmers' forebears who helped to build Valletta on the barren Xibberas peninsula, and the citadels, the coastal towers, literally built a stone curtain which cut off their descendants from the outside world. These two societies, one cosmopolitan, one parochially Boeotian, have existed until recently in a fairly amicable symbiotic relationship. The country produced the labour and the iron rations of agricultural produce, the cities supplied the markets and provided the basis of defence.

178 Under British occupation however, and during the social and technical revo-
369 lutions of the nineteenth century, this balance started to break down. For the first time, considerable opportunities of non-rural employment became available.
464 The high tide of pressure on land resources started to ebb in the last decades of the nineteenth century, leaving a flood mark of land laid out but never taken
[166] up in the western hills. Labour started leaving full time farming, villages such as Safi lost population to new centres like Kalafrana. There has been an actual and psychological diminishing of that pressure on land resource that brought the present landscape into being. In spite of a three-fold increase in 150 years, the population rising to over 300,000, the number of full-time farmers is now probably smaller than it was 50 years ago.

178 A third estate and a new imbalance have been created. Fifty-eight per cent.
182 of the gainfully employed population works for the Government and Service Departments, as compared with less than 10 per cent. in full-time agriculture.
464 This section of the community, once it has severed its roots in the land, is also
[167] apt to sever its connection with Malta. Net emigration between 1945 and 1954 totalled over 45,000 and the population total now fluctuates rather than shows a steady increase. It has been fortunate that the direct pressure on land has slackened since the demands directly and indirectly to support the garrisons have grown with inexorable inevitability. Forts, naval bases and airfields, storage depots and houses - many more houses, have devoured scanty land. This conflict of interests has always been present - long before the conflicting needs of flying boats and fishing fleets caused trouble in 1956. The breaking down of the old equilibrium is caused by a variety of forces and in turn further strengthens these forces. Environmental limitation of personal opportunity has become as irksome as the desire for national political independence and the necessity for economic dependence. Social policy urged on by growing needs is hamstrung by natural poverty. In town and country alike a painful groping towards a new equilibrium at a twentieth century level is manifest.

Lastly what of the response to these challenges? What are the reasons for the slowness of recent adjustment? Fear, lack of security, the very factors that made Malta important as an outpost and earned her a George Cross are also responsible for many of her difficulties. The distribution of settlements is one indicator of this fear. In the traditional area of invasion and attack, the broken lands of the West, there occurs only one town, Mellieha, and even this, hidden from the sea in a defensible position, has only grown rapidly in the last 80 years. Another indicator is the strength of the Church and the general devotion it commands. Vast wealth and effort has gone into the building and adorning of the individual churches - symbols of one type of guardianship.

178 Fear - inherent or acquired - has hindered development in many ways.
182 Industry and commerce have never fully flowered because local capital has always
454 flown to areas of less risk. How can it be blamed? Even 25 years ago, who would

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants. Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands. Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey the wishes and commands of government to the people. Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are located in Valletta. Only the police represent government authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a day under the supervision of a government District Medical Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour. All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

Z: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[p. 27]

CHAPTER III

The Villages and Their Inhabitants

The villages with which this essay deals are the communities outside the densely populated built-up area which centres on Valletta. This area is contained in a rectangle formed by imaginary lines running from St. Julians' and Lija, and thence to Tarxien and Kalkara.[1] Many of these villages, however, are in reality rural towns with populations of up to 15,000, as in the case of Qormi. The Maltese do not distinguish linguistically between small villages and country towns, both are called 'villages' (*rhula*; sing. *rahal*). These are contrasted to *Il-Belt*, the City of Valletta, and its environs. Although I contrast town and country, it is worthwhile pointing once again to Malta's small size. No village in Malta is more than an hour's bus ride from Valletta, and Gozo is only thirty minutes by ferry from its larger sister island. Moreover, 'rival' villages are often no more than a few hundred yards apart.

I am here concerned with abstracting certain principles of social organization, and not with comparing the size and shape of residential groupings, although these two ends are obviously not completely unrelated. Consequently, the geographical limitations which I have placed upon this study are somewhat arbitrary. It is, perhaps, easier to think of the division between town and country as a continuum, with Valletta or Sliema at one end, and small villages such as Qrendi or Gharb at the other. Although much of the description and analysis which follows holds true for both town and village, I am here dealing specifically with the villages.

The separation between town and country corresponds to a rough division of economic and political power, for villagers look to the urban area for employment, income and patronage. First of all, the seat of government is in Valletta, and most of the senior civil servants live there or in Sliema, the sprawling residential suburb that has grown up opposite Valletta during the last 100 years. Secondly, almost all the professionals, wealthy business men,

[1] See the map of Malta and Gozo on page 2, above.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to work in this area.

Differences in language, dress and education set many of the villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries. The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so considered, have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen, whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*, which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà* (mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however, are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

The social and cultural differences between town and country have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe, tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth. But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary level.

[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement.

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to 17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance between town and country. The greater employment opportunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the

[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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giant dockyard in Cospicua, or for one of the various British Service departments scattered over the island. Gozo is more dependent upon agriculture, but many Gozitan men work in Malta, returning to their families for the weekend. Though Maltese villages are populated mostly by industrial workers, they have nonetheless a decidedly rural atmosphere about them, for their inhabitants still have links with the agricultural economy of the past. Many retain a patch or two of land which they plant with potatoes or some other cash crop to supplement their wages, and virtually all keep chickens and rabbits to supply them with eggs and fresh meat for special celebrations.

TABLE 1. Occupational Classes in Farrug and Kortin[1]
(Expressed as percentages of the total male working population)

Occupational Class	*Farrug*	*Kortin*	*Islands*
Professional and Clerical	4	7	15
Service and Skilled	39	52	55
Semi- and Unskilled	42	27	20
Agricultural	15	14	10
Totals	100	100	100

A hundred years ago, the inhabitants of Farrug were mostly farmers, though many were also employed on a cottage-industry basis in the thriving cotton industry of the time. Today they are for the most part wage labourers. Of the total male working population, 42 per cent are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, 39 per cent work as skilled fitters and as service personnel (shopkeepers, drivers, policemen, etc.) and 15 per cent as farmers. Only 4 per cent are professionals and white-collar workers. Three-fourths travel outside the village to their places of employment, chiefly with the Malta Government and the British military departments.

The occupational structure of Kortin is much the same. The higher proportion of skilled and clerical workers is in part a reflection of its past importance as an administrative centre, for until early in this century it was the seat of the district court. Seven per cent of the men work in professional and white-collar

[1] The figures for Farrug and Kortin are based on surveys I conducted, and the national figures on the *1957 Census: Report on Economic Activities*, pp. 45–55. The totals of the male working population in Farrug, Kortin and the Maltese Islands are 296, 1,131 and 75,930 respectively.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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definition of the dogma of her immaculate conception four years earlier, and to St. Joseph, who was declared patron of the Catholic Church in 1870. Virtually all the secondary partiti are dedicated to one of these two.[1] At the same time, there was a general elaboration of the celebrations connected with the cult of saints, including the Italian and Sicilian custom of having bands play during the festas.[2] These were but a part of the more general influx of Italian ideas and customs which accompanied the refugees from Italy of the Risorgimento, who streamed into Malta following 1850. The propaganda efforts of the pro-Italian politicians of the time assisted in the diffusion of these customs, especially in the urban areas.

During this period a conception of social organization new to Malta was also gaining currency, namely the idea of voluntary associations for laymen, and in particular, social clubs for 'gentlemen'. After the establishment in Valletta of the exclusive British Union Club in 1826 and the equally exclusive Casino Maltese in 1850, clubs of various kinds began to spring up in many villages. They multiplied so rapidly that a local chronicler wrote in 1890, 'Today you don't find a village without one or two, nor a city without three or five.'[3]

The latter half of the last century was a period of relative economic prosperity for Malta. This resulted from the increase in military and naval activity after the outbreak of the Crimean War; the sharp expansion in government spending on public works programmes from 1859 to 1865; and the renewed world demand for Maltese cotton as a result of the cotton shortage created by the American Civil War.[4] The economic boom increased the demand for unskilled labour from the villages. This, in turn, helped to disseminate urban-Italian cultural traits. It also provided a financial basis which permitted increased expenditure on festa decorations, fireworks, and above all, uniforms and instruments for the bands. Finally, this period saw the establishment of government schools in all the villages. City-born schoolmasters moved into rural

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] See, for example, Giuseppe Pitrè, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia*, vol. XXI of *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Populari Siciliane* (Torino-Palermo, Carlo Clausen, 1900), *passim*. He also indicates that a number of Sicilian towns and villages are divided by rivalry between supporters of different saints. (pp. xlvii ff.)

[3] P. P. Castagna, *Lis-Storia Ta Malta* (3 vols.; Valletta, C. Busuttil, 1890), III, 128.

[4] Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne, Georgian House, 1954), pp. 105 ff.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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575 578 621 665 would describe the rival club as a Mintoff stronghold, but suggested that his own club had relatively few MLP members. In contrast, a member of the rival club with the same political view would often say just the opposite. Parish priests generally gave very conservative estimates of the number of MLP supporters in the clubs, but usually said that the secondary clubs had more.

621 665 [464] Another factor which makes it difficult to be dogmatic about the political alignment of the partiti is that most are located in the southern villages. These communities are reservoirs of industrial labour and are generally strongly pro-Labour. For this reason, unbiased informants generally estimated that Labour supporters made up between half and three-fourths of the membership of all clubs, but that secondary clubs had slightly more. My own experience in Farrug confirms this. I found there that about 70 per cent of the members of each partit are pro-Labour, although the leaders of the village MLP group are almost all from the St. Martin partit. This I suggested was due more to the shallowness of the leadership resources of the St. Roque partit than to the political inclination of its members.

575 621 665 At the policy level, all clubs usually maintain strict political neutrality. At least, all incorporate clauses to this effect in their by-laws, and many prohibit party newspapers and political discussions in the club. Nonetheless, some clubs are closely identified with a particular political party. Of the clubs that are aligned in this way, those that celebrate the titular feasts generally support one of the parties allied with the Church, usually the Nationalist Party; their rivals support the Labour Party. This alignment often comes about when a leading member of a club seeks political office. Where this occurs, members of the opposite festa partit, as a matter of course, give their votes to his chief opponent in another party, or to a rival in his own party. The political significance of the rivalry between festa partiti will be examined in the following chapter, together with some of the ways in which political candidates manipulate the partiti, and are, in their turn, manipulated by them.

But the tendency to political polarity of rival band clubs still does not explain why the leader of a secondary club, for example, supports the Labour Party, and not one of the rival parties. The chief reason for this, quite apart from the fact that he may have a personal preference for the party, is that the members of his own

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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557 602 patrons; others have established fairly close contact with them through business relations.

559 743 The patronage of the parish priest has traditionally been important. Not only are all villagers his spiritual clients, but he is also a source of charity and assistance in many fields. He serves his parishioners individually in the capacity of legal adviser, character reference and often also as letter-writer and banker. He frequently argues their claims against the government. He also represents the interests of the community at large, and attempts, often successfully, to obtain improved public amenities such as new roads, street lighting and so on. At least, this is the role that he occupied until the introduction of representative government.

III

557 662 Influence through the networks of personal relations and patrons is the traditional method of handling contacts with authority. It still operates when representative government is in abeyance. But the advent of elected government introduced a new set of relations, and provided a new focus of power. Political parties and professional politicians provided new and surer channels of influence and sources of patronage, though they have not replaced the old ones. The villager now uses both old and new channels, separately or together.

662 665 The organization of all parties, at least before Mintoff reorganized the Labour Party, was rather simple. Party interests were represented in the villages by personal canvassers or party agents, as well as by the candidates themselves. The old Labour Party under Paul Boffa had a number of village party committees. When the party was returned to power, patronage and influence flowed abundantly, and brought the whole structure into vigorous life. The canvassers became important people who could pass along requests and schedule appointments with the local MLA's and even the Ministers. They also helped the local MLA's prepare [464] [653] the lists of people who were to be given jobs, for until 1955 most of the lower-grade industrial labourers with the Public Works Department were employed upon the recommendation of the local MLA's. Politicians who held office before 1955 often told me that making out the employment rosters and dealing with the daily queue of job-seekers were among their most difficult and

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often made up new job rosters every few months.

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compulsory for those seeking employment with the government as industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patronage. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

175 169 361 The building of Valletta was begun by La Vallette and continued by subsequent Grand Masters. The majority of the labourers employed appear to have been slaves, although a certain number of men are said to have been imported from Sicily and Calabria. It is difficult to estimate how far an industrial population, which must have amounted to over 8000 men, can have affected the ethnology of the island.

175 161 361 It will be seen, then, that the population of the urban districts, including as it does such a very large proportion of the total inhabitants of the island, is comparatively new to its present surroundings. We have not got in Valletta, as we have in some parts of the Mediterranean, a town site which has been occupied more or less continuously since the dawn of history. We do not know, of course, what was the condition of Mount Sceberras before Valletta was built, but it certainly was not in any way an urban area, the old town having been what is now known as Citta Vecchia.

175 648 The subsequent history of the Order is not of great importance from the ethnological point of view. The Knights did not succeed in suppressing the Barbary corsairs, but carried on a number of sea-faring expeditions, especially in the Levant, although during the seventeenth century there were numerous sea battles between the Knights and the corsairs.

175 433 464 During the occupation of the Order, the food supply of Malta was imported from Sicily, and when diplomatic relations were strained between the Order and the King of Spain, shortage of food often became very marked. The relations between the Maltese and the Knights are difficult to sum up briefly. During the earlier days the privileges of the natives were only limited as far as military necessity, and, to a certain extent, financial obligations demanded. In later days the Maltese were employed as labourers, as soldiers, and as sailors, and although we find that in many cases the Grand Masters behaved generously to native women and children, the general record of the Knights, especially in the years before the final crash came, were unworthy of the ideals of an ascetic Order.

175 648 The Order ruled the island until the final break-up of the last relics of Mediæval Europe by Napoleon. The French garrison surrendered to the British in 1800, after holding the island for two years. Malta was formally ceded to the British crown in 1814.

IV.—Demography.

161 174 It has been suggested that the large number of bones found in the Hypogæum is evidence of a large population in Neolithic times. The place is, however, probably an ossuary, and may have been in use over a long period. The earlier records are for the most part unreliable. In 870, 3000 Greeks are said to have been killed, and 3614 women and 5000 children sold into captivity. This suggests a large population. In 1530 Boisgelin's figure (23) is 15,000, but Miège (27) suggests a population of 20,659. After the attack of the Turks in 1566, the total is said to have dropped to 10,000. The emissary of Pope Gregory XIII reported the

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 369 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the physical units in which the people live - the towns and villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 369 [361] [396] During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These creations have since expanded and merged to become the nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

[241] [464]

[161] [396] [434] [712] [707] Little change otherwise occurred until the century and a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and associated townships became dominant and the increase in the population accelerated[2]. The national economy became overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 241 433 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

has faded very rapidly

369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
241 way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
433 animals or animal products are sold for money.

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:
634
369 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

Urban (0-3%)		Fringe (3-10%)		Inner Rural (10-20%)	
[127] Valletta	0	Balzan	5.48	Mqabba	10.5
Cospicua	0	Luqa	6.1	Marsaxlokk	10.6
Senglea	0	Birkirkara	6.16	Żurrieq	11.15
Vittoriosa	.008	Tarxien	6.43	Għaxaq	11.29
Għira	.11	St. Venera	6.46	Attard	11.53
Sliema	.24	Qormi	6.88	*Victoria	13
Floriana	.43	Birzebbuga	7.3	Mdina	15.4
Pawla	.8	Żabbar	7.35	Mosta	16.56
Marsa	1.2	Żejtun	8.27	Żebbuġ	18.41
Hamrun	1.35	Lija	9.9	*Għajnsielem	19.2
Msida	1.36			Gudja	19.91
Kalkara	1.84				
Pieta	2.6				
St. Julian's	2.9				

Rural (20-50%)		Outer Rural (above 50%)	
Qrendi	20.25	*Kerċem	56.43
Kirkop	22.33	*Xagħra	64
Naxxar	24.8	*Għarb	67.81
Rabat	25.6	*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Xewkija	27.7	*Żebbuġ	70.9
Għargħur	29.1	Mġarr	73.3
Mellieħa	34.73	*Għasri	82.7
Siġġiewi	37.63	**Comino	89.47
*Sannat	39.04		
*Nadur	40.9		
Safi	46.87		
Dingli	47.4		
*Qala	47.6		
St. Paul's Bay	47.72		

Malta..... 9.11%
Gozo..... 41.78%
All Islands..... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
● 464 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

i.e. peasant subsistence farming, Arabic

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
369 element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative impor-
241 tance of farming within the rural villages themselves over
433 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
464 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally, that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared. This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
241 who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper (B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

175 288 464 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century, much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft, so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton production declined. This decline accelerated towards the close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands. The total decline was due to external economic factors but, within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest - where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 178 241 369 464 [288] [396] [504] However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first, and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater break with home, farm and village than had been the case with cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in 178 241 369 241 433 an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second, considered later in more detail, is the social change which has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager through direct and indirect education and contact with the people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had happened before on a temporary basis and the other a consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world, have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he has the new range of employment opportunities indicated, while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March,1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
36 those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (R/561).

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 423 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception. [433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

241 311 464 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled, tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly [409] in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 241 454 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a pie e of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

241 423 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

6: Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (R/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
178 of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats generalization.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
462 to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
288 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
● 464 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing, teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case, discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
[178] others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled, such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men (v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-
[465] money' donations and even these went to sons working full-time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters. Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 464 [461] [465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 [461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characteristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 178 221 241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (R/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community. [234] [233]

178 241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. Today a critical shortage of this very labour [464] is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characteristics of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independant in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (Section 1).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case - XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).

The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can them-
[461] selves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

407 (ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
461 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
464 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements (Case - XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases - XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
427 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
[434] advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
[234] turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the maximum (Section 2).

178 Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
511 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
434 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned. These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

(d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital
[464] improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178
434 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
[471] his farm the means of providing for the various needs of the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding, his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very small section of the farming community: one of the major problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
434 one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work,
175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from
[462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been
175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-
735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Midge in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1857 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with
[262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

175
511
[369]
[464]
[458]
The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence is that there existed a considerable gulf in general living standards between the people of the towns and those of the country. There was also an important contrast within the most rapidly expanding urban area,

175 458 511 [468] [184] between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which characterized the totality of economic life in Malta. Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century. [731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts, epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable Malta (B/556).

175 184 511 178 The major economic developments arising from the growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the chain of external events made their presence felt. In all this the fortunes of one section of the population, such as the farming community, could at no time stand unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands as a whole.

175 178 [184] [871] Malta remained sharply divided within itself by class, district and education and the parallel differences of living standards between one section of society and another were continued. But the later decades of the nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from the economic plane, the beginnings of general education which, during the present century, was to remove the illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of life and society outside the limits of the village. [184] [369] Improvements in transport and communication within the Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural [621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

178 the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of
[175] education, emancipation and communication were to produce
a society very different from that which Maltese country
[511] folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became
[184] different when the traditionally depressed sections of the
community became restless and began to demand the improve-
ments in their living standards which they came to believe
should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 This is not to suggest that the present position of
184 Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The
369 opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in
agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands
today. Some people, some places, and some features of
life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do
others where comparatively few years have seen considera-
ble modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe
458 that the living standards of the labouring classes of
464 Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediter-
511 ranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said,
"is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally
well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic
state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought
the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they
found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt
by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of
the present depression, the condition of the people has
been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate
"The present distress, and the greatly extended unemploy-
ment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to
recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former
prosperity and employments, which depended to a large
extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12).
Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem
which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-
century since the report was made. They pointed to the
position in which the economic structure of the country
as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial
naval and military expenditure and in which the living
standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied
indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure.
Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not
difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in
Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911
and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the
labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative
employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming
redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
458 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
464 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
469 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

178 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
241 related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
464 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
458 pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
554 on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in some future period of major economic recession and depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
554 problem goes further. The present younger generation in the farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index, the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourers:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

178 464 511 In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18 struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p.ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observed that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

178 464 465 511 It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The war years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para.5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23). Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2.16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2.16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/213, Appendix R, No.90).

000 During the War years the farmer had been able to

matter. [P 65]

While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

464 lacking any education at all they took up farming as their
184 natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced
178 with a choice both between occupations and ways of life.
Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

654 The official aid to farming policy may fail, one
829 fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

654 829 464 178 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming: they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

(a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),

(b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,

[565] [793] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene. Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal role of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

178 241 407 464 (3) On account of these same physical limitations mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 434 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 511 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures especially prominantly

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 434 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

*159 156 234 232 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of things outside his village, is prepared to consider suggestions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 156 829 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education, Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClemont demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClemont[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClemont or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

* 159 178 829 [554] [464] Farming for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese society today and observes that the present generation of young people demand the means to enable them to equal the people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Paulu is one of the farmers of this village, but his children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

(A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding)

A. Land.

- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	⅛	⅛	⅛
Vines	⅛	⅛	⅛
Prickly pear	⅛	⅛	⅛
Fodders	8½	10½	14½
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅝
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 185 241 178 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 362 [427] His house is old and remote from the village. He pays the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought", £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer. Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly [157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 54 461 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 ● 464 654 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself operate his small holding and care for his two dozen animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours [426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for *159 443 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

[R 86]

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A gonto milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

C. Livestock.

[231]
- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [409] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

● [464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231] (i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244] (ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i)
- Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

* 159 443 484 521 Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti' Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

* 159 423 **A. Land.**

30 Tmien in Mxxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

* 159 241 311 **B. Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under ferfir (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
[434] Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

* 159 231 **C. Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

* 159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
[454] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[412] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc.
[407] No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

* 159 ● 464 **E. Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting.
During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
[427] - Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

* 159 433 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and wool
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

* 159 241 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annual
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev[ents] the employment of the normal four-year rota[tion]

*159 423 - 10 field plots in single block of 4 tnien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tnien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 241 311 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 423 (i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

511 426 (iii) Receives C.A.R.E. food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 464 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools.
Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 43 234 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day.
Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

*159 23 G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*158 434 H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 B. Utilisation.

241 Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 C. Livestock.

231 November 1956:
234 45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 D. Capital.

42 (i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.W.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 E. Labour.

464 No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

(v.Table 5)
434 (i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of
234 c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
[435] Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p.a.
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.
[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 G. Husbandry.

232 (i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
234 50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

H. General.

159 433 This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

159 231 232 CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

159 234 [311] [246] [435] [464] Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has [451] very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written [65] statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

*159 C. Livestock.

- 50 goats
231 - 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported
234 Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 D. Capital.

- The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
- Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
[409] - No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tonna when necessary.

E. Labour.

*159 - No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed
464 at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

43 - Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

*159 - Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of
231 fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention
234 to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

*159 - When asked whether he considered himself to be herds-
423 man or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
246 lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 A. Land.
427 - Has 3 tmion, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

159 B. Utilisation.
241 - The 3 tmion field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.
159 - Is changing over from goats to cattle.
231 - Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
234 - Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

159 D. Capital.
454 - No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.
464 - Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.
434 - Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in
234 income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

G. Husbandry.
159 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is
231 said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.
429 - Rents 7 tmion of govt. land from part-timers at £1
311 per month from Jan. to Aug.
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly ½ tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
435 - Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hamel according to
434 quality and uses some 200 hamel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

H. General.
159 - Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no
156 knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8½ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1½ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2½ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1½ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7½ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2½ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2½ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1½ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2½ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1½ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

159 241 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

159 231 234 C. Livestock.

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.
(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.
(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

159 [402] D. Capital.

(i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.
[407] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.
[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.
[423] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

E. Labour.

159 464 407 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).
(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.
(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.
427 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

F. Production and Sales.

159 433 (i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.
159 43 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.
(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

* K. General.

159 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndi-
472 cate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. e
451 The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organ-
472 isation one may use this case-study as illustrating
451 the practises and modes of thought of the most
181 highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.

*159 - Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar
433 per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these
181 are attained by the careful application of
242 proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.

*159 - In spite of the fact that the syndicate's
181 capital reserves and their practical abilities
232 are considerable, the physical environment dom-
242 inates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 CASE IX : Antnin & Gakbu (A long-established
472 partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in
464 cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

* 159 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By
178 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows'
234 milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.

492 (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[423]

[454] (iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[407] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

- small motor van, bought in 1953, for

[312] transport of milk.

- no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 E. Labour.

464 - No permanent hired labour.

- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.

- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

*159 F. Production and Sales.

431 - Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U.

435 Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.

- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.

- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tonna.

- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.

[433] - Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 G. Husbandry.

231 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)

- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232] - Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 H. General.

234 829 The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect

[426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
824 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
234 The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
433 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
402 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
402 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (bagħli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

311

Fruit and vines	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-lot	13 tmien
Potatoes	6 tmien
Other vegetables	5 tmien

159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
435 at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

This increase in the

range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of his children, both the infants and those attending school. The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been their practice before.

Work and Labour

As seen, Ġmri's normal labour force consists of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit.....	1740	man/hours
	- vines.....	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġmri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage.....		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties.....		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous.....		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġmri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

159 407 427

paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on Ô's personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tonna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tonna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tonna.

E. Labour.

*159 ●464

- Ô's 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:

(a) Joint holding worked by partners and Ô's nephew.
(b) Land held by Ô, deriving from wife's family, farmed by Ô and eldest nephew.
(c) Land held by Ô's brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On Ô's own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tonna.

*159 434 241

F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From Ô's land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
Ô's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 24 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from £6.10.0 to £15 per tonna, fruit £28 per tonna,

*159 241

for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

*159 [492] [423] [464] [178]

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.

[435] [451] [461] [157]

- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, removed and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464

Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
24 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety
311 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
[406] driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
433 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
434 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
829 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
[464] to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitude is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
[654] the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

*159 423 429 A. Land.

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. Some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation. With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons. Bulbs, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.
(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 [423] [435] [454] [406] D. Capital.

- 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
- No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E. Estimated possible total less than £100.
- Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

● [464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.

[494] [241] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.

[464] - Rarely hires labour.

[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
809 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increas-
[626] ing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept
firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but
[177] that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new
ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of
[794] the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
the towns. Censu shares the still general view that money
[651] given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
community". Money paid to the Government in the form of
taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition
bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be
avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 A. Land.
427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation.
241 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.
231 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves,
234 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats;
1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.
[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
[407] - Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 E. Labour.
464 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
[465] Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[427] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
241 threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[407] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance. He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily - because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging the younger farming generation from staying on the land and struggling against rising costs to sell products which are but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)
423 A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- [427] Soils: i-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.

- [241] Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.

- 454 No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- 422 Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- 423 Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.

- 464 Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
- [465] Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
[433] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using
[251] many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43 (i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmion field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [451] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250

Value of produce consumed by family £30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable [454] capital reserve.

*159 157 829 PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Pawla	1,281	3115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3500	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3461	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	6
Hamrun	715	6594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1408	38.1	17
Tarxien	467	2184	21.8	-
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	-
Rabat	363	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2154	16	-
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	348	2554	9.7	-
Msida	340	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.6	26
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	836	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Kalkara	50	1279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Gharghur	28	608	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.06	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	61			-
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/168.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Government the Maltese people would be represented, if they so decided in a General Election, by three Members at Westminster. They would keep their own Legislative Assembly with an enhanced measure of autonomy since a single Maltese Government would take the place of the existing Diarchy; only a reduced number of matters, mainly concerned with foreign affairs and defence, would remain the exclusive responsibility of the Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom. The Maltese Government would retain responsibility for taxation in Malta until such time as the Maltese economy was held to have reached a level comparable with that of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile discussions between Her Majesty's Government and Mr Mintoff's Administration continued with fluctuating fortunes on the constitutional, economic and financial aspects of the Integration policy. Here the perennial difficulty remained: the conception of "economic equivalence" which Mr Mintoff had been holding out to his supporters as the indispensable accompaniment of Integration and sought to impose on Her Majesty's Government. Negotiations were heading towards a deadlock when in April 1957 a new element of difficulty was injected into the situation by the visit to Malta of the British Minister of Defence. Mr Sandys's announcement that the changes in British Defence policy and their consequential cuts in Defence expenditure would affect the Dockyard, Malta's greatest single employer of labour, created serious anxiety despite the reassurance in the Minister's statement that in any future war Malta would no longer be, as she had been in the last one, "in the very centre of the European battle area."

The anxiety was real, widespread and justified, for over 13,000 Maltese are in regular employment in the Dockyard out of a national working population of just under 83,000 and are the wage-earners for a very considerable proportion of the total population. The Dockyard has always been, in Mr Lennox-Boyd's phrase, "the industrial

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
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[793]

core of Malta." The average Dockyard hand did not know if his job might not come to an end by the end of the year; and representatives of all classes in the country, including the parish priests, passed resolutions pressing for a guarantee of alternative employment if the Dockyard were to close down.

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In the following month the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr Lennox-Boyd, put forward a new proposal to avert the threatened deadlock. While adhering to the Integration policy, and to "equivalence" of the Maltese economy and standard of living as an ultimate aim, he proposed an experimental period or trial run of five years for the Maltese economy to approximate itself to that of the United Kingdom. During this period the British Government would afford economic assistance towards the attainment of this object, consisting of a grant of £25,000,000 over the five years; assistance with educational, health and other social services based on a percentage of what the Maltese were able to do for themselves; and an obligation to help if unemployment rose above the British level in consequence of Defence cuts. Meanwhile Maltese representation at Westminster would remain in abeyance.

Even so, Mr Mintoff was not satisfied. On the 14th December he tendered his resignation owing to a difference of opinion with a section of his supporters in the General Workers' Union but withdrew it three days later; and he then raised the cry of independence as the alternative if he failed to obtain Integration on his own financial terms. The Nationalist Opposition, which had combated Integration, proved ready to support the converse alternative, for on the 30th December 1957 their representatives in the Legislative Assembly voted for Mr Mintoff's Resolution threatening severance of the link with Britain, which was passed unanimously and with acclamation in the following terms:

> That, as the British Government is not prepared to honour the obligation assumed by that Government, in the declaration